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197 vocabulary, so much so that my Petats servant, a man of rather over the average of local intelligence, was unable at first to understand it, and carried on his converse with the Kurtatchi people in pidgin-English. He picked it up, however, in the course of a short time. This dialect is spoken also in the villages of Baniu and Timputa, farther along the coast of Bougainville to the east, and in one hamlet of Tabut, the next village on the west. The other hamlets of Tabut, the villages between Tabut and Buka Passage, and the village of Ruri, about four miles from Kurtatchi on its eastern side, speak dialects much more closely resembling those of the east coast of Buka, particularly that of the Hanahan district. The Hanahan dialect seems to be at least partially intelligible to many, if not most, of the people of the North Bougainville coast, and is used by the Roman Catholic Mission for their services.

The small amount of linguistic evidence available as regards the dialect spoken in the Kunua mountain district suggests that it belongs to a separate group altogether. Mr. Ray thinks that it may be regarded as Papuan. It is completely unintelligible to the coast natives, as are the coastal dialects to the Kunua people. [648] Failure to comprehend each other's speech has probably always been an important factor in the attitude of hostility, now subsided into thinly veiled suspicion, which is traditional between the coast dwellers and the people of the central mountains, who, when investigated, will, I feel sure, prove to differ in many important cultural respects from the people described in the present volume, although they associate with them in certain matters, notably in the boys' puberty ceremonies.

197 With this exception, the linguistic differences are not sufficient 621 to prove a bar to inter-communication between the various villages, though a closer connexion is maintained between villages speaking similar dialects. The custom of taking wives from outside the [582] home village links them together, especially as a married couple [591] will frequently reside now in one, now in the other, of their 604 respective homes, and the children will be sent to stay for long periods in the household of their mother's brother. Communication between villages is also established by means of meetings for [438] barter, which is carried on even where relations are not otherwise especially friendly.

484 Considering the difficulty of travel, which must all be done either 624 on foot or by canoe, the natives range over quite a large area. For

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plantations as casuals, and a number of them did so intermittently, returning to the village to sleep.

The excess of boys over adolescent girls is explained by the fact that many of the girls were living with their prospective relatives-in-law in other villages, while the brides of the boys wearing the *upi* remained with their own people till after the *watawutʃ*.

One man has four wives, one has three, and five have two. One of these is a boy still wearing the *upi*, whose 'wives'—they are spoken of as such although the marriage rites have not been completed—do not yet live in the village, but pay short visits only.

Leaving out the 25 boys wearing the *upi*, and 4 men who sleep with them in the *tobār*, there are 107 individuals (72 adults and 35 children) living in 27 huts. The majority of huts have 3 or 4 inhabitants. The largest number sleeping, habitually, in the same hut is 7, which happens in 3 cases. One hut has a solitary occupant, an old widow, whose children are all dead.

THE DAILY ROUND

The village day begins at sunrise, with a leisurely stroll, during which frequent halts are made to enjoy the morning sun. It is not often that we wake to rain; that comes generally later in the day. The women take a briefer stroll, return home, and begin to rake together the ashes of the fire, probably still hot from having smouldered through the night. Soon the native Mission teacher blows the conch-shell which is the signal for Mass, and those who feel so inclined make their way to the church. (The church is beside the road, hidden by trees from the village, hence it does not appear in the plan. The villagers had just finished its construction when I came to live among them.) On their return, the women uncover the ovens in which taro has meanwhile been roasting, or they may boil some instead, or, if there is any over from yesterday, it may be eaten cold, together with any bits of fish or other relish that may be available. The men come along presently, the children are called up, and every one eats, but not a large meal. If the village is by the sea, some families will take their meal on to the beach and eat it round a fire kindled there. Then the women collect the scraps and call the pigs, who come on hearing their names. All now sit about for awhile, gossiping and making arrangements for the day.

The women presently pick up their knives and packs (made of

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punishment, since but little of either falls to the lot of the children of these natives, and what little there is is just as likely to be in the hands of mother or father as of *tsoa-*. But the relationship seems throughout to be an official rather than a personal one. It is most in evidence during ceremonial procedure, and will be discussed in this respect in various portions of this book. This does not mean that there is no affection between *tsoa-* and *pasu-*, but that depends entirely on the personalities of the individuals.

The *tsoa-* shares with the father the training of the boy in hunting and fishing. If he lives in another village, his nephew will go and stay for long periods in that village, sleeping, if he wears the *upi*, in the men's house belonging to his clan, but being provided with food by the wife of his *tsoa*. In the case of a boy who stands in the direct line of succession to the headship of a tsunaun lineage, the *tsoa-* must, as the young man grows up, teach him certain ceremonial observances which he will later be called upon to carry out. This right cannot be alienated from him, even though he be not fitted for the responsibility. Pinari had decided to allow Kakari, his *pasu-*, to conduct the approaching *watawutʃ* ceremony, under his supervision, so that he would know the ritual. But he had no great confidence in Kakari, who is a somewhat casual and inefficient young man, so he intended to include his own son Wasɛ̃ in the instruction, and let him share the responsibility for the ceremony with Kakari. This was not according to rule, but Pinari considered that he was within his rights in so doing, and no one gainsaid him. He could not alienate the succession from Kakari, but it was very evident that had it been possible he would have done so. His sister Pari told me that he was secretly very much displeased with Kakari for his slackness, but that he was 'ashamed' to scold him about it because Kakari was the heir. In this particular case the personal preference for the son over the sister's son was very marked, and I do not think the case was an isolated one.[1] In many instances known to me, the son, and not the maternal nephew, was the recipient of special knowledge of some particular kind of magic, such as rain-making or love charms.

While there are no taboos governing the *tsoa- : pasu-* relationship, when the nephew is grown up there is always a certain amount of reserve between the two. A man's *tsoa-* would not go

[1] The social implications of a situation of this kind are discussed by Malinowski, who found it occurring in the Trobriands (1926 (1), pp. 100 ff.).

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606 in-law may refer to her son-in-law as 'the father of So-and-so', and sometimes, even before the child is born, a name will be given to it for this purpose, which is changed at birth if the sex turns out to be wrong.

[888] This taboo ceases to operate when the wife's mother is very old. She may then go and live with her daughter and her *waris*, and be looked after by both of them. Sometimes the taboo is lifted when there are several children. One of the native Mission teachers told me that he did it when his first child was born, because it would not do for him to hold too closely to the old customs. But usually three or more children are born before the [784] taboo is removed. This is done by a small ceremony. The man makes ceremonial pudding, takes a piece of it, and also a piece of areca-nut, breaks both into two, eats one part himself and gives the other part to his *waris*, who also eats. If a number of children have been born but have all died in infancy, the taboo may still be broken in this way.

[689] If a man inadvertently sees his *waris* he must expiate the offence by paying a string of *imun* to her through his wife. When I asked what would happen if a man and his *waris* were caught looking at one another on purpose, the assembled company was—or professed to be—extremely shocked and protested that such a thing could not happen. I surmise that the face-saving scheme above-mentioned saves the situation in such a case.

606 184 764 At Petats I was told that the taboo cannot be lifted during the lifetime of the mother-in-law, but when she dies her son-in-law lifts the lid of the coffin and looks at her face, and throws a fathom of shell currency (*beroan*) into the coffin. This is supposed to be buried with her, but sometimes her own relatives take it out and keep it. If the son-in-law omits to do this there is gossip, and it is said that he is not sorry about the death of his *waris*.

13. *Ruanbē-* (term used reciprocally).

601 This term is used by a woman to and of her husband's actual parents, and also to and of any one who stands to her husband in the relation of *tama-* or *tʃ'ina-* or *tsoa-*. Reciprocally, it is applied by both males and females to their son's wife, and also to the wives of all the men they call *bai'i*, and by a man to the wife of any man he calls *pasunē*, e.g. to the wife of his sister's son.

606 591 No restrictions are observed between *ruanbē-*, even where the

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persons concerned are of opposite sexes, as in the case of a woman and her husband's father. The son's wife spends a great deal of her time between betrothal and marriage living in the hut of her *ruambē-* and working for them. After marriage the couple may live near them or near the wife's parents, but in the latter case will pay extended visits to her husband's parents at intervals.

14. *Suwan* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used by both parents of the husband in reference to both parents of his wife, and reciprocally by the parents of the woman in reference to the parents of the man. At the beginning of the young couple's married life the *suwan* relationship is accompanied by certain taboos which are considered only second in importance to those associated with the *waris* relationship. They do not, however, include any prohibition against seeing each other or against addressing each other directly, except that names may not be used, the term *suwan* serving as a form of address. *Suwan* may not touch one another, they may not eat in each other's presence, or even chew areca-nut together. But there is no objection to their sleeping in the same house.

These restrictions are removed when the wife has her first child, even if it dies. The two mothers prepare food, the two fathers prepare ceremonial pudding, and all four *suwan* eat together, each couple eating what the other couple has prepared, and the taboo is thus lifted.

15. *Tatō* (co-wife).

This term is used by one of the wives of a man to refer to, and also sometimes to address, any of his other wives, though there is no restriction on the use of names in addressing one another. No distinction in terminology is made between the first or chief wife, and subsequent wives, but in practice the latter are supposed to give way to the former, though, if they stand high in their husband's favour, they probably will not do so. The man calls his wives *mon* without distinction of priority.

RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM AND REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

There are no enjoined or preferred marriages in this system. Although the boy may be, and generally is, older than the girl, marriages are, in general, with mates of the same generation.

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551 has an intimate connexion. Another woman is now called Tchina'-
565 eviat; *eviat* is the word for the bamboo rod used in catching bonito,
765 the connexion being that Sarumpots was engaged in bonito-fishing when the accident occurred. The name of Sobak, my next-door neighbour, means 'to make a grab at', as the shark does at its victim, and commemorates the same catastrophe. In cases of importance the old names seem to be dropped completely. I never succeeded in ascertaining what the names of these people had been before. All inquiries were side-stepped by the answer: 'No one uses it.'

551 As previously explained, these substitute names may be used by relatives who are not permitted to say the individual's personal name. The taboo on the names of certain relatives extends to the use of words which are the same as these names, for which some substitute must be found, either a circumlocution or a word from another dialect.

551 These taboos are falling into disuse in consequence of contact
177 with the white man. Most of the people at Petats showed no hesitation in saying the names of their taboo relatives when giving me their genealogies, but at Kurtatchi they either gave me a substitute name or the name of the relationship, or asked some one standing by to say the forbidden word. One man, finding himself alone with me, having occasion to speak of his brother's wife, whose name he should not say, whispered: 'She is my *wagun*, but I'll steal her name and say it quietly.'

[59] The whole system of substituting or changing names is destined to disappear in the near future by reason of the introduction of the Government census. 'Name e stop along paper belong white man, no can loose im.'

SUMMARY

612 The outstanding characteristics of the structure of this society
613 may be summarized as follows: The kindred, comprising the mother and the father, the siblings of both, and their children, is
591 the unit of which the individual is most aware in relation to the ordinary give-and-take of everyday life. In general, the tie between the individual and his relatives on the mother's side of the house (his lineage) is the stronger, but much depends upon whether the individual is living in the mother's or the father's village. This is to some extent a matter of his parents' choice, but if one individual

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of a married couple is of more importance than the other, the spouse will take up residence in the village of the partner who has the higher status. In any case, the kindred, as defined above, counts for more than the clan.

The recognized social unit is the lineage, its head is the eldest living male, hence it follows that the person to whom an individual looks as the one officially in authority over him is his mother's eldest living brother. Some lineage groups take precedence of the rest; their members are known as *tsunaun*, and the head of such a group is a person of great authority, though now possessing less than in the olden days.

For the reckoning of descent and succession the mother's side of the house is all-important, the father's side completely ignored, i.e. the community is in this respect exclusively matrilineal. But in the case of inheritance of personal property, either in goods or in knowledge, the society is both matrilineal and patrilineal, that is to say, a man can bequeath such property to his son or to his sister's son, or divide it between them, as he pleases.

Throughout the area there are two main clans, but others, smaller in numbers, though not considered as subdivisions, occur: the names and number of these small clans differ in different districts. With each clan is associated some creature, usually, but not always, a bird, but the association now amounts to little more than that of name, though it may once have been more important. The significance of the clan as a social unit seems to have declined considerably with the abolition of warfare.

Marriage is normally exogamous, but exceptions to this rule seem always to have occurred not infrequently. The important thing is to avoid persons with whom direct relationship can be traced either through the mother or through the father, marriages between cousins and the children of cousins being strongly taboo. (This applies to both parallel and cross-cousins.) The bride is preferably obtained from another village.

The relationship system is a 'classificatory' one, comparable with those found in other parts of Melanesia, with strong taboos regulating social intercourse between certain persons. The most important of these are their regulations applying to the wife's mother–daughter's husband relationship, and to that between the parents of husband and the parents of wife. These restrictions are lifted under certain circumstances.

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582 experienced her first menstruation, though there appear to be
[585] some exceptions to this latter rule. A youth who is *tsunaun* will
565 have more than one wife assigned to him at an early age. They
582 are called husband and wife from the time of betrothal. Kiram,
595 a lad of fourteen or fifteen, had for his first 'wife' Tagoal, a girl of perhaps ten or twelve (see Pl. 7 *a*). For her the ceremonial currency had been handed over. His second 'wife', Buin, was about seven or eight, and was still spending most of her time with her mother, the currency not having changed hands as yet.

574 During the years between betrothal and the marriage ceremony,
584 the girl pays long and frequent visits to her husband's people, or
883 may, in some cases, be taken over by them altogether, particularly if her mother is not living. But if the boy still wears the *upi*, they are kept rigorously apart; there is no chance of their getting to know each other at all, and when the time comes for the marriage to be consummated they are still practically strangers. Some girls fret a good deal on their visits to their 'in-laws', others appear to settle down quite happily. As regards the routine of her life, the early betrothal makes little difference to a girl. She works for her husband's people instead of for her own, and looks after his babies, if he is already married, instead of the babies of her mother's family. She is, as a rule, well treated by her prospective mother-in-law, and drops into place with the girls of her own age in the village, who treat her as one of themselves.

BEGINNING OF MARRIED LIFE

591 After the final marriage ceremony, the young couple usually settle down near the husband's people, sometimes actually in his mother's hut, to begin with. Kakari and Muben were still living with Matēv nine months after their marriage, in spite of Matēv's repeated hints that it was time he built a hut for himself in the vacant space next to hers. But sometimes, under pressure from the girl's people, the couple will live in her village, especially if she be a person of importance. There are enough instances of both practices to suggest that it is not correct to describe these natives as either 'matri-' or 'patrilocal', but that there is freedom of choice, with the balance towards the custom of living in the village which was the husband's home before marriage. In either case, they will, in years to come, spend a certain amount of time in the village which was the home of the other partner.

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VII

ADOLESCENT GIRLS

GIRL'S LIFE DURING ADOLESCENCE

882 291 THERE is no sharp break in the life of a girl, corresponding to that which faces a boy when he puts on the *npi*.[1] No ceremony imposes upon her any sudden burden of taboos and regulations. There seems to be no hard-and-fast rule as regards the age at which [602] she begins wearing the woman's hood. Owing to the ramifications of the classificatory system of relationships, even quite small girls are liable to have relatives who come under the term *waris* (son-in-law), from whose sight they are technically supposed to shield themselves by means of the hood. Most little girls possess one, and wear it on ceremonial occasions. But, in practice, the rule of avoidance is rigidly enforced only between the woman and the husband of her own daughter, or of her sister's daughter, after the final marriage ceremony, so that it does not bear heavily upon a girl during her adolescence. Similarly, so far as I could learn, there was never any great stress laid on the time of putting on the girdle and bunch of leaves which was the only wear of the women prior to the adoption of the loin-cloth. A girl wore this girdle as a matter of course after she had experienced her first menstrual flux, but could begin earlier if she liked. But it may be that a custom long fallen into disuse may have been forgotten by, or even unknown to, those with whom I discussed this question. Nowadays, when even quite tiny children are often to be seen wearing loin-cloths, it seems to be a matter of their parents' or their own personal preference.

882 591 A girl's first ordeal comes when she must go for the first time to stay with her prospective husband's people, almost invariably in another, if perhaps not always far distant, village. This takes place long before she arrives at the age of puberty. After the first, which, as one would expect, seems always to be difficult, most girls, I think, regard these visits with complaisance, or at worst with indifference, though perhaps seldom with any degree of positive pleasure. The tenor of their lives runs in much the same grooves as before; they work in the gardens, fetch firewood and water, and

[1] [erratum, should be upi. – Powlys?]

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look after babies for their mother-in-law instead of for their own mother. In the instances which came under my own observation, they were kindly treated, and some amount of trouble was taken to make them feel at home. Between such visits a girl returns to her own people, and takes up her ordinary life again with them until such time as the marriage ceremony is performed, after which she lives with her husband, unless he signs on as an indentured labourer. In this case she will probably continue to live at home and go about with the other girls of the village as before. There were several girls at Kurtatchi in this position.

One child, Takon (Pl. 7*b*), whose breasts began to develop during the later months of my stay, was living in the hut of her husband, Wasē, though the marriage would not be consummated until she was older. Wasē (Pl. 66*b*), a man somewhere in his early twenties, had another wife about his own age and a third had recently died. Takon was a reserved, quiet child, but appeared to be happy enough. She held her own in the village, and was always on good terms with the other girls both in work and play. She and Nawi were frequently to be seen together, and both spent much time on my verandah.

Even the onset of menstruation makes no violent change in the girl's life. There is nothing here comparable to the conditions found by Margaret Mead among the Manus, where 'puberty for girls means the beginning of adult life and responsibility, the end of play, careless companionship, happy hours of desultory ranging through the village' (1930, p. 175). The girl of the North-Western Solomons goes on with the tasks she has gradually taken up as she has grown older, and continues to play with the girl friends she has gone about with all her life. Nawi, of whom more later, had as her greatest friend and constant companion a girl named Kiots, who had experienced her first menstrual period a year or more earlier, and went about nearly as much with Bolis, a child of five or six, who, though so much younger, seemed to be accepted and treated by her as an equal. Both these friendships continued as usual, after Nawi had been through the ceremony marking her first menstruation.

Under ordinary circumstances, the second great ordeal of a girl's life is the consummation of her marriage. This has been discussed in Chapter III. The aspect of it relevant in the present connexion is that after a childhood which grew gradually into girlhood, during